

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00284 01 OF 02 121931Z

46

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 121830Z AUG 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2705

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 284

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 12, 1975
AND SOVIET REVISED PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE X (SALT TWO-725)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 12, 1975 AND THE SOVIET RE-
VISED PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE X.

QUOTE

SEMENOV STATEMENT, AUGUST 12, 1975

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIET SIDE
HAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT IT WAS OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE
FOR THE SIDES TO ASSUME A SET OF OBLIGATIONS AIMED AT ENSURING
THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LIMITATIONS TO BE
ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN PARTICULAR, THIS
WAS SAID IN THE USSR DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS OF JULY 7 AND
22, 1975.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00284 01 OF 02 121931Z

TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE X OF THE MAY 7, 1975 JOINT DOCUMENT, WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AND WOULD ACCORD WITH THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE SIDES. INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT OF OBLIGATIONS BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF CERTAIN NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD ENHANCE ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE, AND WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE FIRM RESOLVE OF THE SIDES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN SUCH A VITALLY IMPORTANT AREA AS THE ONE RELATED TO STRATEGIC ARMS.

THE NECESSARY PREREQUISITES EXIST NOW TO MOVE THE DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES OF ARTICLE X OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT ONTO A PRACTICAL PLANE. WE NOTE THAT AT THE AUGUST 5, 1975 MEETING THE U.S. DELEGATION STATED THAT THE U.S. WAS READY TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER TYPE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO EARTH ORBIT.

THE USSR DELEGATION IS IN FAVOR OF ENGAGING IN AN ACTIVE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY AGREED FORMULATIONS FOR THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE PROBLEMS UNDER DISCUSSION, INCLUDING THE ISSUES CONSTITUTING THE CONTENT OF ARTICLE X.

MR. AMBASSADOR, THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO SUBMIT FOR CONSIDERATION NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE X OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT. I WILL READ AND HAND YOU THE TEXT OF THIS NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL.

THE NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESS
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PAGE 01 SALT T 00284 02 OF 02 121945Z

70
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 284

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

THE SOVIET WORDING FOR THE DEFINITION OF AN SLBM LAUNCHER IS ALSO COMPREHENSIVE IN NATURE. JUST LIKE THE DEFINITION OF A LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER, PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, IT INCLUDES CLEAR CONCEPTS OF THE LAUNCHER AS WELL AS THE MISSILE ITSELF. IN THIS CONNECTION, AT THE SAME TIME BEING FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, WHICH IN SUBSTANCE SPECIFIES THAT IT IS PRECISELY SLBM LAUNCHERS WHICH MUST BE LIMITED UNDER THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, IT FULLY COVERS THE CONTENT OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE U.S. VERSION. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE REMARK CONTAINED IN THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 5, 1975 TO THE EFFECT THAT THE U.S. LANGUAGE MAKES CLEAR THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT INCLUDES ALL OF THE SLBM LIMITED IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. WE THINK THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROPOSED SOVIET DEFINITION OF AN SLBM LAUNCHER, THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THIS QUESTION.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT, AS HAS ALREADY BEEN STATED HERE AND AS IS THE CASE IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT IN FORCE, THE SUBJECT OF LIMITATION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT ARE SLBM LAUNCHERS,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00284 02 OF 02 121945Z

THERE IS NO NEED WHATSOEVER FOR SEPARATE DEFINITIONS, SEPARATELY FOR LAUNCHERS AND SEPARATELY FOR SLBMS. ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW ARE GROUNDLESS.

ANOTHER QUESTION IN THIS CONNECTION. IN ITS STATEMENT OF JULY 29, 1975 THE USSR DELEGATION SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROPOSAL TO DEFINE A LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER OR AN SLBM LAUNCHER AS ANY DEVICE OR EQUIPMENT WHICH CAN BE USED FOR LAUNCHING SUCH MISSILES. THIS STATEMENT, WE ASSUME, IS WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE U.S. SIDE. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT INTRODUCTION OF SUBJECTIVISM AND VAGUENESS INTO THE DEFINITIONS OF THE SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED, IS BY NO MEANS HELPFUL AND CANNOT BE ACCEPTABLE WHEN WORKING OUT SUCH A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE DOCUMENT AS THE NEW AGREEMENT.

ON THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS. WE NOTE THAT THE SIDES AGREE THAT SUCH BOMBERS ARE CERTAIN EXISTING AIRCRAFT, AS WELL AS NEW AIRCRAFT BEING OR TO BE DEVELOPED, HAVING CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE HEAVY BOMBERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION REAFFIRMS ITS POSITION THAT THE AIR-CRAFT WHICH THE U.S. SIDE CALL BACKFIRE, BEING A MEDIUM BOMBER, MUST NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE MAXIMUM LEVEL OF 2,400 UNITS. THE SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENTS OF THE CAPABILITIES OF THIS AIRCRAFT, USED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION TO ARGUE ITS POSITION, CAN IN NO WAY SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR CLASSIFYING IT AS A HEAVY BOMBER.

THE DEFINITION PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE FOR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH THEM, IS FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE.

BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE TO BE LIMITED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT IT IS PRECISELY ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS WHICH ARE
SECRET
SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00284 02 OF 02 121945Z

THE SUBJECT OF LIMITATION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, THE DEFINITION, TOO, MUST CORRESPOND TO THE SYSTEM TO BE LIMITED.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD, THE SOVIET SIDE, AFTER THOROUGH ANALYSIS, PROPOSED A DEFINITION OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

IT WAS NOTED HERE THAT THE RESPECTIVE FORMULATIONS COINCIDE TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, WHICH SHOWS THAT THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES ON QUESTION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MIRV CONCEPT ARE CLOSE. THERE WAS ALSO DISCUSSION OF CLARIFYING THE TERM "INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE." I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT AN ANALYSIS OF THE FORMULATIONS PROPOSED MAKES IT OBVIOUS THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE SUBSTANCE OF INDEPENDENT TARGETING THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES IS IDENTICAL--THIS DEALS WITH THE INDEPENDENT TARGETING OF INDIVIDUAL REENTRY VEHICLES AT PRECISELY SEPARATE TARGETS, REGARDLESS OF THE LOCATION OF THESE TARGETS (OR POINTS) RELATIVE TO THE MISSILE'S FLIGHT TRAJECTORY.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE FORMULATION USED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, NAMELY "...LAUNCHERS CONTAINING MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH FRONT ENDS CONSISTING OF TWO OR MORE REENTRY VEHICLES THAT ARE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE TO SEPARATE TARGETS...", IN COMBINATION WITH EXPLANATION BY WHAT SPECIFIC DEVICES INDEPENDENT TARGETING OF REENTRY VEHICLES IS ACCOMPLISHED, MAKES IT POSSIBLE CLEARLY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE CONCEPT OF MIRVS, AND THAT OF MRVS WHICH ARE INDEPENDENTLY TAR-

GETABLE. THUS, THE DEFINITION PROPOSED ON JULY 9, 1975 FULLY AND ACCURATELY EXPLAINS THE SUBSTANCE OF INDEPENDENT TARGETING, AS WELL AS OF LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AS FOR THE ADDITIONAL REMARKS MADE HERE, THEIR CONCRETE MEANING REMAINS UNCLEAR TO US.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED TODAY BY THE USSR DELEGATION WITH RESPECT TO DEFINITIONS OF THE SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED, WILL CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO THIS ISSUE.

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PAGE 04 SALT T 00284 02 OF 02 121945Z

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT, TAKEN AS A WHOLE, THE JULY 9, 1975 PROPOSALS ON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT CONSTITUTE THE BASIS FOR WORKING OUT, WITH RESPECT TO THE RELEVANT ISSUES, A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TEXT FOR THE DEFINITIONS OF STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES TO BE LIMITED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION
TEXT TABLED BY SOVIET SIDE
AUGUST 12, 1975

ARTICLE X

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY:

(A) CRUISE MISSILES OF INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE;

(B) SEA-BASED CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS;

(C) BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH A RANGE EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS TO BE INSTALLED ON WATERBORNE VEHICLES OTHER THAN SUBMARINES;

(D) FIXED LAUNCHERS OF BALLISTIC OR CRUISE MISSILES TO BE INSTALLED ON THE SEA-BED, THE OCEAN FLOOR, OR THE BOTTOM OF INLAND WATERS, OR IN THE SUBSOIL THEREOF, IN ANY PLACE WHATSOEVER, INCLUDING THE TERRITORIAL SEA AND INTERNAL WATERS, OR MOBILE LAUNCHERS OF SUCH MISSILES, WHICH MOVE ONLY IN CONTACT WITH THE BOTTOM;

(E) SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER KIND OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO EARTH ORBIT;

(F) MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY-TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES FOR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES.

UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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